

224 that of the members of a same bilateral family. Likewise, in
602 the pounding of manioc, a2, a14, a18, a22 often work together
and prepare a collective mass which will be divided among the
same families, and will serve as food for the same persons as
those represented in the above chart.

602 We do not know whether to attribute certain striking be-
603 havior of A17 to his classificatory position or to his individual
157 characteristics. He is very clearly conscious of his almost
patriarchal position in the midst of the group and of the fact that
all the members, or almost all, are as regards him: asuittu,
asuittu, tauéttu, tauéttu, tauéttu; he dwells on it, complacently
enumerating the terms with grand gestures. He is gay, jovial
and finds evident satisfaction in conversation about erotic subjects,
contributions to which he enhances by mimicry and appropriate
contortions. Within the group, in whose activities he shares
only partially, he holds no authority, explicit or implicit.

RELATIVES AND ALLIED INDIVIDUALS

OR

COLLATERALS AND RELATIVES BY MARRIAGE

602 There is no apparent difference between the behavior of an
606 individual as regards his spouse's parents and his behavior as re-
gards his own parents. That is, from the point of view of
individual relationships, the order of generations takes precedence
over that of degrees. Parents-in-law, parents of the third de-
gree, are concretely claimed in the second generation ("fathers"
and "mothers"). The same can be said for relationships of the
wife's father and mother, or of the husband's, with the spouse
of these latter. No special prohibition could be noted.

607 Sisters-in-law (asétsu, a1; ndédere, b1) enjoy very free
605 contacts among themselves. They laugh, joke together, do
one another small services such as that of mutually rubbing the
back with the tincture of urucu (Bixa orellana). However, one is
in the presence of completely exceptional relationships [76]
when one passes on to brothers-in-law (astikosu, a1; tarúte, b1),
or more exactly (since the name astikosu does not arise from
marriage with the sister but is previous to it) to cross-cousins
(masc.).

838 Because of the fact of partial polygamy which reigns within
 595 the group, and which is manifested in the fact that the youngest
 592 and prettiest women are periodically withdrawn by the chief or
 605 the shaman from the regular cycle of marriage, the young men
 often find themselves in difficulty as regards marriage, at least
 during part of their adolescence, no potential wife being
 available. This problem is resolved by homosexual relation-
 ships, which the Nambikwara language (bl) has named poetically:
tamindige kihādige, that is false love. These relationships are
 frequent among young people and are carried on much more
 publicly than normal relations. The couples do not retire to
 the bush as the adults usually do. They install themselves near
 a fire of the camp under the amused eyes of the neighbors. The
 incident gives rise to some joking comments, usually not car-
 ried very far. These relations are considered infantile, and
 hardly any attention is paid them. The question remains un-
 answered for us as to whether these practices are carried on to
 complete satisfaction, or are limited to sentimental effusions,
 accompanied by erotic play such as those which characterizes,
 for the most part, relations between husband and wife. What-
 ever the case may be, the essential point here is that homo-
 sexual relations are exclusively relations between cross-cousins.
 Whenever one seeks information from an Indian concerning a
 relationship of the type just described, the typical response ob-
 tained is:

25. tarutehādige tamindige (bl)

(those are) two brothers-in-law making love.

838 We have not been able to ascertain if these relationships of
 605 adolescence continue between adults. It seems hardly probable.
 607 But relationships of a very special nature are maintained between
 "brothers-in-law. They exhibit great familiarity toward one
 another, have among themselves effusions such as we have never
 noted among brothers or relatives of another degree. Among the
 [201] Nambikwara (always prodigious, of course, with affectionate
 gestures) it is not rare to see two or three men, married and
 fathers of families, walking in the evening tenderly embracing.
 The information obtained is, here too, always the same:

26. tarite talhasi?ete. (bl)

The brothers-in-law are embracing.

607 Certain games, like the "the game of claws (griffes)"
 524 (kajroh'tumbl, c) are frequent among brothers-in-law.

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the same sense when he writes: "It is their custom to marry the women who are their nieces, daughters of their brothers of their sisters; they regard them as their true and legitimate wives. The fathers of these women cannot refuse them, and no one, except their uncle, can claim to marry them (1)." One can refer also to

1. Pedro de Magalhães de Gandavo, The Histories of Brazil, The Cortes Society, New York, 1922, II, ch. X, p. 89.

Nobrega, Vasconcellos, Soares de Souza (2).

2. Nobrega, Cartas do Brazil, 1549-1560, Rio de Janeiro, 1931, p. 148;--Vasconcellos, Chronica da Companhia de Jesu do Estado do Brasil, Lisboa, 1865, I. LXXXII, p. 133; Soares de Souza, Tratado, CLVII, CLII.

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As regards polygamy and the distinction, so clear among the Nambikwara, between the first wife devoted to household tasks and the secondary wives, companions of the men and sharing their obligations, it will be remembered that Magalhães de Gandavo alludes to a category of women actually unmarried, but who take part in masculine activity (3).

3. Gandavo, loc. cit., II, Ch. 10, p. 89. One will find other information about the family organization of the ancient Tupi in: A. Métraux, La religion des Tupinamba (Paris, Leroux, 1928), * panim; --Lafone Quevedo, "Guarani kinship terms as an index of social organization (American Anthropologist, Vol. 21, 1919), p. 421-440; --P. Kirchhoff, "Die Verwandtschaftsorganisation der Urwaldstämme Südamerikas (Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, Vol. 63, 1931, Ch. 15, p. 182).

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All of these observations authorize us to trace a parallel between the extension of the relationship of "brother-in-law" among the Nambikwara, and a custom, seemingly very close, of the ancient Tupi. First we quote from Yves d'Évreux: "A party of Frenchmen was dispersed throughout the villages to live there according to the

607 customs of the country, which is to have Chetonasaps or hosts or
171 godfathers, giving them merchandise instead of money; and this
hospitality or godfatherhood is very strict among them: for they
actually consider you their children while you live with them, they
go hunting and fishing for you, and moreover their custom was to
give their daughters to their godfathers" (4). Farther on he speaks

4. Voyage dans le nord du Brésil. Ed. F. Denis,
Leipzig and Paris, II, 14.

of the "French who were lodged by godfatherhood in these villages." (5)

5. Loc. cit., XXVIII, 109.

7 The indigenous institution is confirmed by Jean de Léry (6): "it is

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6. Loc. cit., II, Ch. 20, p. 133; cf. also,
Cardim, Tratado da Terra e da Gente do Brasil,
Rio de Janeiro, 1925, p. 169-170.

to be noted that these words Atourassap and Coton-assap differ, for
the first signifies a perfect alliance among them and between them and
us, to the extent that the goods of one are common to the other. And
also that they cannot have the daughter or the sister of the first named.
The "Coton-assap" is consequently, inversely as regards the preceding,
privileged in two forms of marriage: that with the sister of his partner,
who makes him a "brother-in-law," and that with her daughter, that
is an admission to the number of maternal uncles, making of him a
theoretical brother of the wife, which leads to the same result.

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607 [83] It is necessary to note another analogy in the relationship
171 between brothers-in-law among the Nambikwara and among the Tupi.
All the texts which we have quoted agree in admitting the existence
among the Tupi of a sort of authority exercised by the young men over
their sisters. The marriage of cross-cousins seems to result from a
mutual exchange of sisters among the men who are related in this way.
The same thing can be said when the father gives his daughter to his
wife's brother. Thus, actual or potential brothers-in-law are tied by
a relationship of a special nature, founded on an exchange of services
of a sexual order. We have seen that such a relationship also exists
[538] among the Nambikwara brothers-in-law, with this difference that
among the Tupi these services fall back on the sisters and daughters,

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while (besides the preceding form) the Nambikwara brothers-in-law exchange payment directly in the form of homosexual relationships, which make up for the absence of an available sister.

We may now draw a conclusion. The ancient Tupi were acquainted with two types of preferential marriage: the marriage of cross-cousins, and avuncular marriage. The first appeared normally in the form of an exchange of sisters between two cross-cousins; the second resulted from a privilege over the daughter of the sister exercised by the mother's brother, or conceded to the latter by the sister's husband. In the two cases, the marriage is based on a pact between cross-cousins, brothers-in-law in right or in fact—which is the definition which we have retained for the Nambikwara terms tarute or jopa. Moreover, this relationship of "brother-in-law" can be established under the name of chetouasap (Yves d'Evreux) or cotonasap (Léry) between individuals which no bond of kinship united before, or relatives of a different or more distant type, and even between strangers (as was the case between French and Indians). The goal was to make possible intermarriage and to amalgamate families or groups, until that time heterogeneous, into a new social unit. One recognizes the procedure which we have described in connection with the fusion of the Sabané and Tarunde (1) groups.

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1. The South American practice of utilizing kinship relationships to translate and establish social ties is attested by Von den Steinen (Unter der Naturvölkern Zentral Brasiliens, 2 Aufl. Berlin, 1897, p. 286), whom the Bakairi had decided to call "older brother" and the Mehinaku "maternal uncle." We have just established the equality of the terms "brother-in-law" and "maternal uncle" in a system of marriage between cousins (cross-) joined to the avuncular marriage. As to the use of the term "elder brother," this calls for two observations. In the first place, the kinship system of the Bororo, who are not far distant from the Xingu, modifies each generation in two stages of which the one (elder) is assimilated to the younger members of the former generation and the other (younger) to the older members of the next generation. In such a system, an "elder brother" might be, in fact, a real uncle and a potential brother-in-law. The second point brings to a focus the logical difference between

114 But the formal analogy of the two institutions should not disguise
601 their truly opposite characters. In the Latin-Mediterranean society
the bond, formerly mystic and now social, of compérage, can be
transformed by marriage into an actual kinship line. Among the
117 ancient Tupi, and among the Nambikwara, it is, on the contrary,
the concrete kinship which furnished its model to a type of bond
utilized to establish wider relationships.

That having been posed, there are two reasons why our authors
could not have elaborated a pseudo-Indian institution after a Euro-
pean model. In the first place, men as familiar with religious
problems as were Yves d'Evreux, Cardim and Léry, could not have
likened a relationship whose first consequence, and the probable
object, was to permit new types of marriage, to the relationship be-
tween godfather, godmother and relatives who observed very severe
enforcement [85] of the prohibitions of marriage, especially since
the thirteenth century. At the time when they were writing, the
question had actuality, since it was set down in the program of the
Council of Trent, where the ancient rules had to be a little softened.
But we have a more decisive argument. From the arrival of the first
missionaries, the two institutions, European and Indian, must have
evolved side by side, especially among the baptized Indians. But
neither they nor their European priests ever interpreted Christian
sponsorship in terms of Indian compaternity. On the contrary, and
more logically since the newly introduced institution carried restric-
tions regarding marriage, they treated it as a modality of the relation-
ship of paternity. They likened the godfather to a classificatory
father: "Thus, they (the children who come to receive baptism)
regarded their godfathers as their real fathers and called them Cherou,
meaning "my father," the French called them Cheaire, which means
"my son," and the little girls Cheagire, "my daughter" ... (1)

1. Yves d'Evreux, 1. c., II, 1, p. 234.

● 607 We believe we have assembled enough information concerning
the fundamental character of the relationship between brothers-in-
law in the South American society so that the nucleus of an original
institution of compaternity can be seen in it which appears still living
among the Nambikwara. The documents here presented suggest (2)

2. An English version of these observations has been
published under the title: "The social use of kinship

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terms among Brazilian Indians," American Anthropologist Vol. 45, No. 3, 1943. In an interesting article dedicated to the Tupi system ("Notas sobre a interpretação sociológica de alguns designativos de parentesco do Tupi-Guarani," Etnografia e língua Tupi-Guarani, No. 9, São Paulo, 1946), J. Philipson reproaches me for having limited the relationship of compaternity to South America, and he invokes the example of numerous tribes of North America. That is to attribute too much ignorance to me: it is indeed certain that there exist, in the entire world, innumerable cases of special relationships between brothers-in-law, both cordial and hostile. But by including pell-mell all of these examples, one would fall back into errors of the old comparative sociology. By the term "compaternity" I have wished to identify a precise complex institution, where there come together in correlation a particular kinship system, well defined rules of marriage, and certain traditional psychological attitudes. It is possible, and even reasonable, that one could find this uniformity in other regions of the world. But none of the examples mentioned by Philipson reveal this clearly.

its vast distribution in indigenous America of former times.

Part II

SOCIAL LIFE

128 It is obviously impossible, when one studies the existence of small nomadic bands all of whose members are related among themselves or from one band to the other, by a kinship relationship, to trace a clear line of separation between family life and social life. Many traits which come from the latter have been pointed out in the preceding pages. We shall not examine then in this chapter, more than certain aspects of the social life which concern the collective whole, either in its own existence or in its relations with neighboring groups.

[End Plate V]

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1. The little girl b5 and her dog (cf. p. 70). 2. Three sisters-in-law delousing each other (cf. p. 75). 3-4. Erotic games (A1 and a4) are hard to distinguish from contests of friendly scuffling where children add themselves willingly to the secondary wives and their husband (cf. pp. 62 and 69).

[END Plate VI]

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Brothers-in-law (cf. p. 76); in the foreground, B1.

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The two wives of C20 (c19 and c21) engaged in a pleasant conversation.

THE SOCIAL USE OF KINSHIP TERMS AMONG BRAZILIAN INDIANS

By CLAUDE LEVI STRAUSS

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607 THE kinship system of the Nambikuara Indians of the Western Matto Grosso is one of the most simple in Brazil. At the same time it is typical of a sociological pattern, cross cousin marriage, which according to our present information seems to have been very common throughout South America. The object of this article is to compare the familial organization of the Nambikuara with that of other tribes described in the older literature and to show that a certain kinship tie, the brother-in-law relationship, once possessed a meaning among many South American tribes far transcending a simple expression of relationship. This significance, still observable in Nambikuara culture, is both sexual and politico-social; and, owing to its complexity, the brother-in-law relationship may perhaps be regarded as an actual institution. Since the sixteenth century travellers and sociologists have failed to devote sufficient attention to the phenomenon, probably because it could readily be interpreted as a development of the imported Iberian *compadre* relationship. In our opinion, on the contrary, the brother-in-law relationship, together with its remarkable implications, constitutes an indigenous aboriginal institution based on the pattern of native culture. Nevertheless, it presents a striking example of convergence in which the native and Latin-Mediterranean institutions show numerous apparent similarities overlying important structural differences.

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133 The Nambikuara Indians are settled on the upper courses of the feeders of the Tapajoz River, between the eleventh and the fifteenth parallels. Their territory consists of a semi-desert savanna, which contrasts with the narrow gallery forests along the main waterways. The fertile soil of these forests allows
[511] the natives to cultivate a few gardens in the rainy season, but during most of the year the Nambikuara subsist mainly by hunting and gathering wild food. Compared to the majority of Brazilian tribes, their cultural level is low. As they were discovered only in 1907 and as they had practically no contact with white civilization between the year of the Rondon-Roosevelt Expedition in 1914 and the time of our own field work in 1938-39, their familial and social organization may be considered still intact.

601 The Nambikuara kinship system may be summarized as follows: All the father's brothers are classified together with the father and are called "father," and all the mother's sisters are classified with the mother and are called "mother." The father's sisters and the mother's brothers are classified together with the spouse's parents and the parents' parents in a single category which denotes simultaneously the cross aunts and cross uncles, the mother-in-law and father-in-law, and the grandparents. Passing to Ego's generation, the parallel cousins, both the children of the father's brothers and of the mother's sisters, are merged with siblings and are called "brother" and "sister," Turn-

ing to the children of the father's sisters and of the mother's brothers, a man calls all his female cross cousins (to one of whom he is or will be married) "wife," and all his male cross cousins "brother-in-law;" conversely, a woman calls all her male cross cousins (among whom her actual or potential husband is numbered) "husband" and all her female cross cousins "sister-in-law." No terminological difference is made between actual and potential spouses. The members of the next younger generation are similarly divided into "sons" and "daughters" (Ego's own children and parallel nephews and nieces) and "sons-in-law" and "daughters-in-law" (Ego's cross nephews and nieces), since these are or may be the spouses of his children.

The system is somewhat complicated by secondary distinctions made between elder and younger siblings and by the fact that another kind of marriage—between a maternal uncle and his niece—is also practised. This new pattern usually appears in the polygynous unions which, in the prevailingly monogamous Nambikuara society, are the privilege of the chief. This point needs some elaboration. Nambikuara polygyny results from the fact that, subsequent to a first marriage having all the characteristics of the common (i.e., the cross cousin) form, a man may contract one or more unions of somewhat different nature. Actually, the position of his new wives is not the same as that of his original one, and, although constituting real marriages, the later unions are nevertheless psychologically and economically different from the first. The atmosphere in which they evolve is less conjugal and more like a kind of amorous friendship. The younger wives cooperate more extensively in the numerous tasks imposed on their husband because of his special social obligations. Furthermore, the activities of these women do not conform as closely as those of the first wife to the general pattern of the sexual division of labor. Finally, they are younger and are classified, in relation to the earlier wife, as "daughters" or "nieces." Such "oblique" unions (that is, between members of different generations) may also take place in monogamous marriages, but less frequently. Although their occurrence among the Nambikuara is an important point in our demonstration, the consequent modifications of the kinship system are not essential for the purposes of this article and we may therefore omit further mention of them. Our present observations will be limited to the special implications of the brother-in-law relationship which is expressed through the reciprocal terms *asukosu* (Eastern dialect), *taratê* (Central and Western dialect) or *isôpô* (Northern dialect).

It must be emphasized immediately that this useful translation of the native term is not in any way accurate. While the *asukosu* is a man's male cross cousin and also his potential brother-in-law, since the persons calling each other *asukosu* (or *taratê* or *isôpô*) call each other's sisters "wife," it is only in particular instances that one or more of the individuals involved is, in fact, the wife's brother or the sister's husband or both. The meaning of the term *asukosu*

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● 607 is consequently much wider than "brother-in-law" as we understand it, including as it does approximately half the masculine members of a man's generation; the rest, of course, receive the name "brother" (consanguineous or classificatory). It should be noted that in the Nambikuara kinship system men alone have brothers-in-law and, conversely, women alone have sisters-in-law.

[607] Only in the case of brothers-in-law are the Nambikuara conscious of a link between a special type of behavior and the position occupied by a kinsman in the relationship system. Generally speaking, there are no rules of avoidance or of privileged familiarity between particular kinds of relatives. The relations with the spouse's parents do not differ substantially from those with the parallel uncle and aunt and, although it is true that relations between consanguineous or classificatory siblings are rather reserved, the natives are unable to define this diffuse behavior. As a matter of fact, while siblings and parallel cousins do not avoid each other, they do not joke or even talk together unless there is a special reason for doing so. Sisters-in-law, on the contrary, comport themselves very freely. They laugh and joke together and render each other small services, such as rubbing each other's back with urucu paste. And, more especially, exceptional relations are revealed when one passes to the brothers-in-law.

607 We have already mentioned the partial polygyny which exists in the group. 838 The chief or shaman periodically withdraws several of the youngest and prettiest women from the regular cycle of marriages; consequently, young men often find it difficult to marry, at least during adolescence, since no potential spouse is available. The resulting problem is solved in Nambikuara society by homosexual relations, which receive the rather poetical name *ta-mtndige ki'andige*—"sham love." Relations of this kind are frequent among young men and are more publicly displayed than heterosexual ones. Unlike most adults, the partners do not seek the isolation of the bush, but settle close to the camp fire in front of their amused neighbors. Although the source of occasional jokes, such relations are considered childish and no one pays much attention to them. We did not discover whether the partners aim at achieving complete sexual gratification or whether they limit themselves to such sentimental effusions and erotic behavior as most frequently characterize the relations between spouses. In any event, the point is that homosexual relations occur only between *male cross cousins*.

We never learned whether or not the same relations continue to exist between adult cross cousins; it does not seem likely. Nevertheless, the freedom and demonstrativeness displayed by brothers-in-law toward one another are not characteristic of the relations between brothers or between the members of any other class of relatives. One often sees among the Nambikuara (who, in fact, like to indulge in expressions of affection) two or three men, married and

sometimes the fathers of several children, walking together at dusk and tenderly embracing each other; always

tarúte ialásiqe

(these are) brothers-in-law embracing (each other).

Certain games, too, such as the "scratch game" (in which the opponents try to scratch each other especially in the face), are commonly played by brothers-in-law.

But the close relationship between "cross cousins actually or potentially allied through a sister's marriage"—the more accurate translation of the aboriginal term for brother-in-law—may extend far beyond the family tie. Actually, it is sometimes used to establish between individuals not belonging to the same kin group new links of a special nature, the function of which is to amalgamate into a single familial unit several formerly unrelated groups. This is brought out clearly in the following case.

During the past twenty years, several epidemics nearly destroyed the central, northern and western divisions of the Nambikuara. Several groups were decimated to such an extent that they could no longer successfully maintain a socially autonomous existence. In the hope of reconstituting functioning units, some of these, therefore, attempted to join forces. In the course of our field-work we met and worked with such a merged group made up of seventeen individuals using the northern dialect (*Sabane* group) and thirty-four using the central dialect (*Tarúde* group). Each of the originally distinct groups, however, lived under the guidance of its own chief, although both leaders closely cooperated. It is probable that the demographic crisis did not by itself account for this situation, since the people of the second group formed merely a fraction of a more numerous unit from which it had split off for reasons unknown to us. However, from several events which occurred during our stay with them, we deduced that the break had been caused by political dissention, the details of which remained obscure to us. In any event, these groups now travelled and lived together although two separate but contiguous camps were maintained in which the families formed distinct circles, each around its own fire. The most amazing feature of this curious organization was that the two groups did not speak the same language and were able to understand one another only through interpreters; fortunately, one or two individuals belonging to each group had sufficient knowledge of the other dialect to act as intermediaries. Even the two chiefs could not communicate directly. The problem of whether these dialects belong to the same linguistic stock need not be raised here; but the Northern group undoubtedly must be classified with the Nambikuara cultural family because of the similarities of material culture and of the life pattern, and chiefly because of the psychological attitude of the people, who very evidently believed in their close affinity to the Central group.

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607 A more fundamental problem raised by the union of the two groups, namely the nature of the relations to be established between their respective members, was solved by the common statement that all the male members of the Sabáñe group were to be acknowledged as the "brothers-in-law" (*tarúte*) of the male adults of the Tarúñde group, and, conversely, that the latter were to be acknowledged as "brothers-in-law" (*iópq*) by the former. Consequently, all the "wives" belonging to one group became the "sisters" of the "husbands" of the other, and the "sisters-in-law" of the latter's wives; and all children of both sexes in one group became the potential spouses of the children in the other. As a result, these two groups will be welded into a single consanguineous unit within two generations.

The conscious and systematic nature of this solution cannot be doubted. When asked for their kinship relation to any male adult of the allied group, the male informants, irrespective of the group to which they themselves belonged, never gave a different answer, but always emphasized that the question was meaningless since all the Sabáñe men were their *tarúte*, or all Tarúñde men their *iópq*. On the other hand, no one seemed to have a clear idea of the exact relationship between the women, the children, or the adults and the children of the two groups. Occasionally the correct theoretical relationship could be deduced; more frequently only the group name was given in reply to our queries: She is calling the other one "Sabáñe"—or "Tarúñde." Thus it may be assumed that the system was conceived of and applied according to (and exclusively according to) the *tarúte* (or *iópq*) relationship. This inference is rather important because, of course, the same result could have been achieved by other means.

If the sole aim of the system had been to ensure inter-marriage, it could have been brought about equally well in two other ways; perhaps we should say that two different interpretations might have been made of the same phenomenon. In the first place, the women might have been regarded as "sisters-in-law"; or, in the second place, all the men of one group and all the women of the other might have entered a brother-sister relationship. In both cases the result would have been the same as in the accepted interpretation, in which, indeed, these relationships are implied though not expressed. Nevertheless, the solution itself was actually based on the relationship between the male and his allied collaterals, the consequences of which must now be examined.

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582 Two of the three possible interpretations implied the consideration of women; only one was purely masculine, and it is the latter which was adopted by the natives. The reason for the choice is obvious since the problem to be solved was a purely political one, concerning the chieftainship, which is exercised by men, rather than the normal mechanism of filiation, the pattern of which seems to be matrilineal. In a simple system of cross cousin marriage, such as that of the Nambikuara, the brother-in-law may be either the matri-

lateral or the patrilineal cross cousin; nevertheless, the chosen interpretation stresses the male side in Nambikuara society, or, let us say, it shows a strong tendency in this direction. At the same time we can see in such a solution a specifically social structure beginning to superimpose itself on the formerly simple familial units. 571 607 582

We do not intend in any way to base a theory of the origin of dual organizations on these restricted observations, the character of which is mainly anecdotal. However, this is a case where "the characteristic features of the sib organization are in some measure prefigured among sibless tribes";¹ as a matter of fact, in order to fulfil the main requirements of a system of exogamic moieties, it would be sufficient for the new unit, once fixed, to retain the recollection of its dual origin by preserving the habit of not mingling the camp fires. 571 607

Moreover, the extension of the "brother-in-law" relationship provides an instance of the increasingly superior position of the men within the group, since it is through the men that group alliances are brought about, just as wars are waged by men. 571 607 562

The preceding observations have a further value, since with their help we may be able to interpret sociological information found in the older literature on South America, especially that dealing with the Tupi of the Brazilian coast. 000

There are striking similarities between several features of the Nambikuara kinship system and what may be inferred about the ancient familial organization of the coastal Tupi. When describing small details of Nambikuara daily life, one is often tempted to quote Jean de Léry or Yves d'Evreux, so accurately do their words apply to certain live features of Nambikuara society, notwithstanding the fact that they were written four centuries before this culture became known. As a matter of fact, several metaphysical themes are common to both cultures and, indeed, certain names in the Nambikuara religious vocabulary have a conspicuously Tupi origin. The most important similarities, however, are those involving the kinship systems. In both cultures the same three principles of familial organization are stressed and are apparently similarly expressed: First the dichotomy of the parents' brothers and sisters between parallel uncles and aunts, called "fathers" and "mothers," and cross uncles and aunts, called "fathers-in-law" and "mothers-in-law;" secondly, the marriage of cross cousins with the correlative assimilation of parallel cousins to "brothers" and "sisters"; and, finally, the avuncular marriage, which, among the ancient Tupi, seems to have taken the form of a preferential union between the mother's brother and the sister's daughter. 114 171 601

An excellent text by Anchieta gives evidence of the occurrence of the first principle, as well as showing signs of the existence of the other two: 114 171

¹ Robert H. Lowie, *Family and Sib* (AMERICAN ANTHROPOLOGIST, Vol. 21), p. 28.

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171 Regarding polygyny and the sharp differentiation made among the Nambikuara between the first wife who devotes herself to feminine activities and the younger wives who are their husband's companions and share his tasks, it may be recalled that Magalhaes de Gandavo¹⁷ refers to a special category of women, single indeed, who shared in masculine activities.¹⁸

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114 The preceding similarities may perhaps allow us to establish a valid comparison between our observations concerning the extension of the "brother-in-law" relationship among the Nambikuara and what seems to have been a very similar institution among the ancient Tupi. We first quote Yves d'Evreux:

They scattered part of the French through the villages so that they might live according to the custom of the land, which consists in having *cheloúasap*, that is to say, hosts or god-sibs (*compères*), giving them merchandise instead of money. Such hospitality or god-sib relationship is very close among them, for they regard you as their child as long as you stay with them. They hunt and fish for you and, what is more, they used to give their daughters to their god-sibs (*compères*).¹⁹

The same author refers later to the "French who were established in the villages in a god-sib relationship (*compérage*)."²⁰ Evidence of the aboriginal institution may also be found in Jean de Léry:

It is worth remarking that the words *atour-assap* and *colon-assap* differ, because the first signifies a perfect alliance between them and between them and us, so much so that the belongings of the one are common to the other. And also that they cannot have the daughter or sister of the first named.²¹

From this one may infer, conversely, that marriage is authorized with the sister and the daughter of the *colon-assap*. Therefore, the *colon-assap* is granted a double privilege: first, marriage with his partner's sister, which makes him a "brother-in-law"; and, secondly, marriage with his partner's daughter, which is equivalent to his assimilation to the rank of "maternal uncle";—then, because he is considered a theoretical brother of his partner's wife, he also becomes a theoretical brother-in-law. Actually, therefore, both privileges have the same result.

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582 One more similarity between the Tupi and Nambikuara brother-in-law relationship remains to be pointed out. All the texts quoted agree that there existed among the Tupi a kind of authority held by young men over their

¹⁷ *Loc. cit.*, II, ch. 10, p. 89.

¹⁸ Other indications on the familial organization of the ancient Tupi may be found in: Métraux, *La Religion des Tupinambas* (Paris, Leroux, 1928), *passim*; Lafone Quevedo, *Guarani Kinship Terms as an Index of Social Organization* (AMERICAN ANTHROPOLOGIST, Vol. 21, 1919), pp. 421-440; Kirchhoff, *Die Verwandtschaftsorganisation der Urwaldstämme Südamerikas* (Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, Vol. 63, 1931, ch. 15), p. 182.

¹⁹ *Voyage dans le Nord du Brésil*, ed. F. Denis (Leipzig et Paris, 1864, II), p. 14.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, XXVIII, p. 109.

²¹ *Loc. cit.*, II, ch. 20, p. 133. Cf. also Cardim, *Tratados da Terra e Gente do Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro, 1925), pp. 169-170.

sisters. Cross cousin marriages seem to have resulted chiefly from a reciprocal exchange of their respective sisters by the male cross cousins. (The same holds for the giving of a daughter by a father.) The potential or actual brothers-in-law then enter into a relationship of a special nature based upon reciprocal sexual services. We know that the same thing may be said of the Nambikuara brothers-in-law, with the difference that, among the Tupi, the sisters or daughters of the brothers-in-law provided the object of these services, whereas among the Nambikuara the prestations are directly exchanged in the form of homosexual relations. 171 607 582

We may now summarize our observations. The ancient Tupi acknowledged two forms of marriage; namely, cross cousin marriage and avuncular marriage. The first was usually practised in the form of an exchange of sisters by two male cousins; the second appears to have been a right to the sister's daughter exercised by the mother's brother or granted to him by his sister's husband. In both cases the marriage is the result of an agreement between cross cousins, actually or potentially brothers-in-law—which is the definition we retained as a suitable translation of the Nambikuara terms *tarúte* and *isôpê*. Now, this special "brother-in-law" relationship could be established, under the name of *chetouasap* (Evreux) or *colon-assap* (Léry), between individuals not united previously by any kinship tie, or else only more remotely related, or even between strangers (as was the case of the French and the Indians). The reason for such a step was to ensure intermarriage and by this means to amalgamate familial or social groups, previously heterogeneous, into a new homogeneous unit. One recognizes here the same process described in the analysis of the relations between the newly joined groups, Sabané and Tarúnde.²² 171

²² The widespread South American custom of using kinship terms to express social relationships is attested to by Von den Steinen (*Unter der Naturvölkern Zentral Brasiliens*, 2 Aufl. Berlin, 1897, p. 286), who was called "elder brother" by the Bakairi and "maternal uncle" by the Mehinaku. We have just established the equivalence of the terms "maternal uncle" and "brother-in-law" in a system of cross cousin marriage combined with avuncular marriage. Regarding the use of the term "elder brother," two observations should be made. First, in a kinship system such as that of the Bororo, not far distant from the Xingu, each generation is to some extent split into two layers, the elder half being assimilated to the younger half of the generation above and the younger half to the elder half of the generation below. In such a system an "elder brother" may well be a true uncle and a potential brother-in-law.

The use of the term "brother" for social purposes may also be understood in another way. Among the Nambikuara, there is a special term, sometimes used to designate a sibling of the same sex, the meaning of which is "the other one." This term is applied not only to describe a familial relationship, but is also used to name objects belonging to a class which includes several units (for instance, the posts of the huts or the pipes of the whistles). Friendly groups may also consider themselves to be "brothers" and the exclamation, "You are no more my brother!" may often be heard in discussions between angry adversaries.

This suggests that the term "brother" possesses, in addition to its kinship significance, a very wide meaning, both logical and moral. Nevertheless, when the technical problem of establishing new social relationships is put up to the Indians, it is not the vague "brotherhood" which is called upon, but the more complex mechanism of the "brother-in-law" relationship.